/80/

227

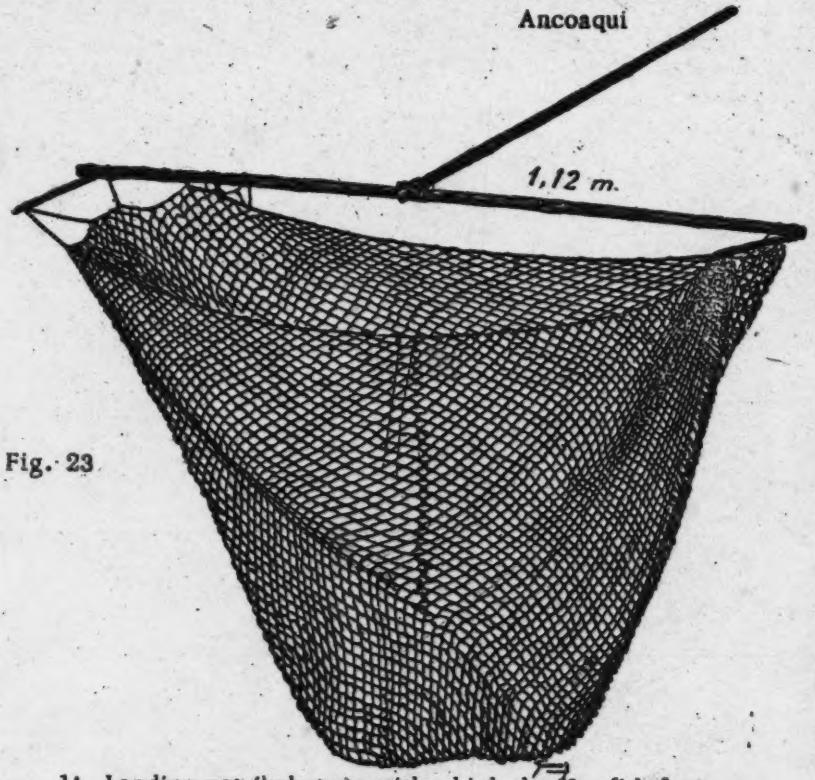
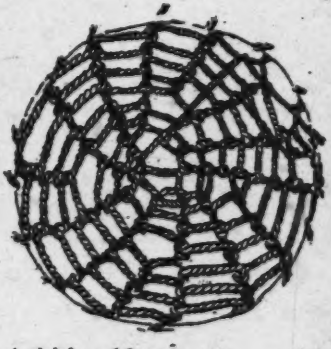


Fig. 23

1: Landing net (kakuna), with which the Uro fish from above their boats

285



2, 3: a wicker basket of spiral design (width: 18 cm.; height: 14 cm.).

/84 cont./

396 The construction of these rafts is rather simple, although
[147] it demands great manual skill and considerable expenditure of strength. The keel is composed of two enormous spindle-shaped sheafs of totora tied together. The natives obtain them by heaping up and intertwining stalks of totora of unequal length (Pl. IV, B /see p. 24/); they take care that the shortest remain inside and they cover these with progressively longer stalks until the total forms a compact mass. The rope which maintains each of these rolls /85/ /Fig. 25 appears here/ /86/ is crossed at each turn with that of the other sheaf. Two padded rims are then fastened to the edge, where they serve as a railing and add to the stability of the craft. The only instrument to which the Indians have recourse in making these rafts is a wooden hook (Fig. 24, 5 /see p. 10/), which they use to lift the straw rope, either to tighten it or to pass the rope which joins one sheaf to the other under it. This alternating play of the ropes obliges the balsa constructors to work always two by
501 two (Pl. IV, C /see p. 24/). For navigating, the Uro have long boathooks, l'okena, the wood for which comes from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The extremity of these poles ends in a sort of trident which prevents them from sinking too deeply in the mud of the lake (Fig. 25, 2 /see p. 15/).

285 Mats. The Uro Indians have several uses for the rush (totora) mats. They make the framework and roofs of their huts from it, their beds, the door of their house, and the sails of their balsas. Making them is not complicated. The totora stalks are spread out on five or six parallel ropes, stretched between stakes, and attached to them in little piles.

283 Rope-making. The Uro are obliged to constantly make rope, the indispensable accessory for the two industries which have just been mentioned. Different types of gramineous plants,
[824] among them the Stipa ichu Kunth, Festucha orthophylla Pilger, and F. dissiflora Griseb (1), furnish them with raw material of

1. Parodi, p. 4.

[text continues on p. 16]

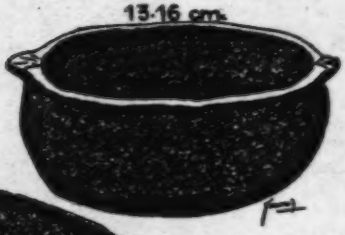
Carangas—
Chipaya

/167/

● 285

[415] →

13-16 cm.



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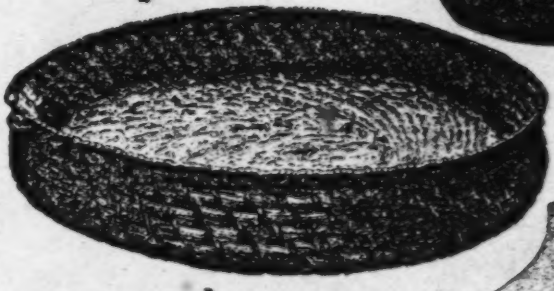
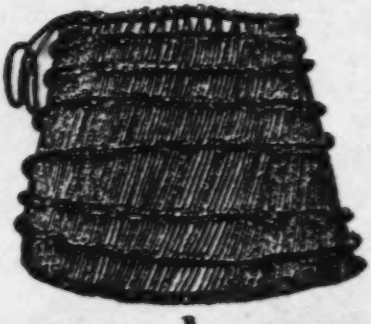


A

415

29cm

[414] ←



B

48cm.

E

[384] →

5cm.

C

F

/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (105) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (105) of old type (from a sketch).

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (koč, koms) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (kxiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

[462] These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (pʰit-čekta). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pats patz) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3, A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3, A, B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

297 439 The small openwork baskets (čiñi šepa) are, it appears, fish traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

/203 cont./

*171 286 2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[113] 3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF2

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

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SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]

[286]

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left)*: *Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right)*: Chipaya sod house. *Bottom (left)*: Uru house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right)*: Door of a Chipaya sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

291
[285]

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142
[287]

PLATE 117.—Uru and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Uru man making a mat. *Top (right):* Chipaya man. *Bottom (left):* Uru man holding a fishing net. *Bottom (right):* Uru man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-E]

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *oyo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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407
501

342
285
133

FIG. 1. Uru houses. *Above*, hut with corbelled reed roof; note crude plow at right side of hut and balsa poles by door. *Below*, typical round Uru house with mat roof, Ayaviri style rectangular house to rear; Desaguadero swamps in the background.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ivu* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makhi*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *alwiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *likara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akse*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *wiku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *tolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymara rectangular houses are ichu-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Fola* (a kind of grass-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *taksia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymara style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kruliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[10]

[10] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193-305, 1870), p. 233. Pentecostky, *op. cit.* p. 68, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890), Vol. 4: pp. 166-167. Métraux (*JSAP* 28: 190-194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymara are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs or Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is common, however, for tracing the pervasiveness of the Uru: Bruno noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymara at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Bruno [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1913]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ilu*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (*kuylu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinlu*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[36] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*takxi*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined reed mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[36] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Los balsas usadas por los Aymaraes en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1937), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (*JSAP* 27: 86) is of the Aymára type.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sifiora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawans*) llama-wool (*qawñi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*waẓ'[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[28] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Urù *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

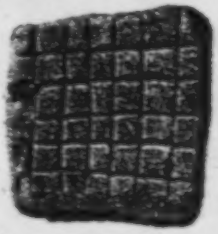
[28] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

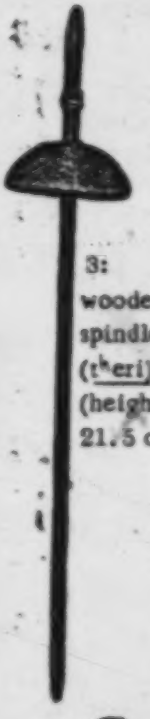
Clothing 39
Spinning 280
Industrial production of textiles 380
Description of power looms 400

/81/

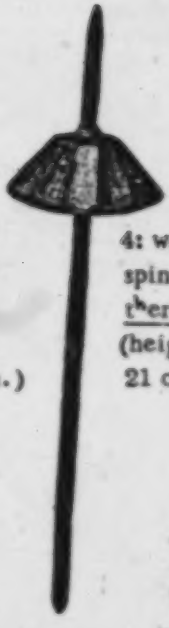


1: Stone polisher to soften leather (height: 7.5 cm. width: 7.2 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm.)

2: perforated stone used as ballast to sink bottom nets (diameter: 9.9 cm.) (GM. 31.44.44)

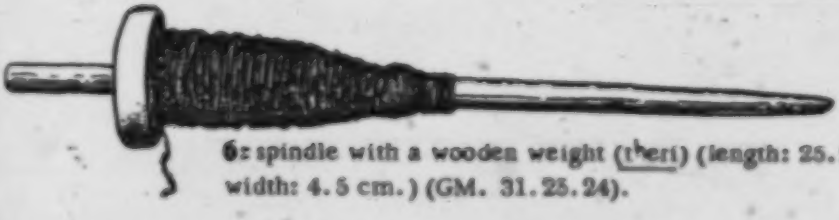


3: wooden spindle (t'eri) (height: 21.5 cm.)



4: wooden spindle t'eri (height: 21 cm.)

5: wooden hook which the Uro use for making their balsas (kaxlu, t'kaxi)



6: spindle with a wooden weight (t'eri) (length: 25.2 cm. width: 4.5 cm.) (GM. 31.25.24).

Fig. 24

/87 cont./

291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
[614] unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans, a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kunko,
[816] Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čayk čapiti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

~~Plate II~~ I

342

A. Round house.

B. Woman sewing.

291
302
24

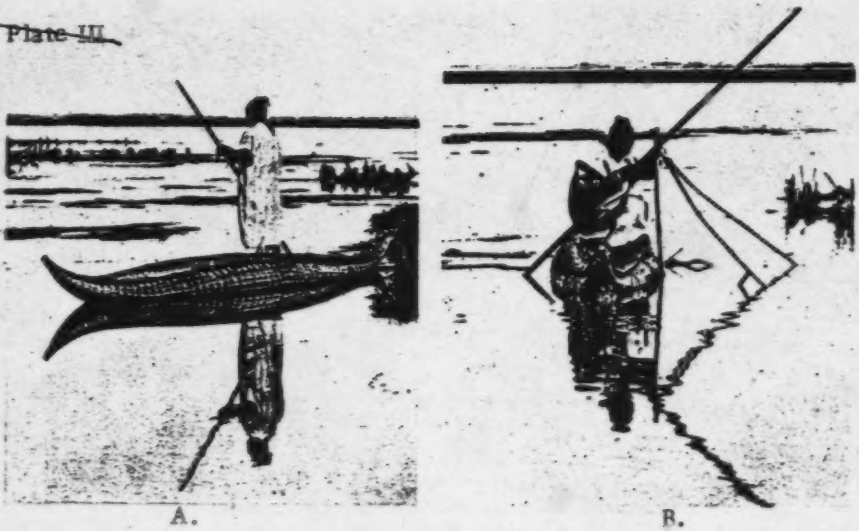
[End Plate I]

1 [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Uru--Abstract]

1:Métraux--23 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

~~Plate III~~

226
501
291



A. B.

Indians fishing with landing nets.

C. Woman weaving.

284
302

[End Plate 2]

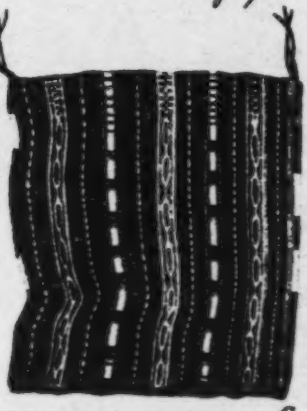
2:Métraux--138 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415
[531]

A



C

[537]

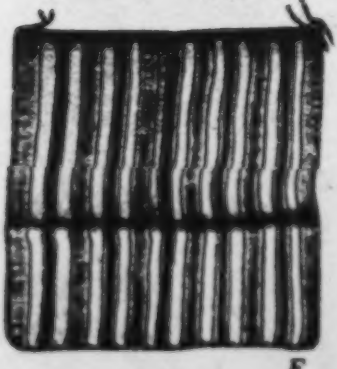
*[196]
[182]

D

[532]

B

286
531
415



E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415 A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.

B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.

C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (käls).

D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (käls).

Carangas -
Chipaya

/169/

411
293
415
411
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172
286
283
293
415
411

/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/169 cont./

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.

B: Bag (kăls) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.

C: Čipaya bola perdida.

D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.

F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.

G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (tsai).

H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).

I: Bag (kăls) made from the skin of a llama's neck.

J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

Carangas –
Chipaya

/170 cont./

These shirts are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

/171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

1 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth – Ed.]

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kāls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

/177 cont./

283 it is more advantageous to have thicker ones. With this aim two are twisted together during an operation which is analogous but made up of different movements. The rotation movement communicated to the spindle is carried out with the flat of the hand. The spinner, abandoning the spindle to itself, follows the thread with her right hand until it comes up to the spindle when she stops it to make it turn again.

286 Weaving. The loom (Fig. 4, C /see 157/) is essentially composed of two sticks between which the warp threads run. The latter are not directly fastened to the sticks but to a cord stretched along the latter. To weave, the Indian woman begins by tying the forepart of the loom to two short stakes (pat-kˣena) stuck in the ground in front of which she sits down (Pl. V, C /see p. 214/). Then she holds out the warp while tying the other end to her own body by means of a small cord (skos-koči, činuka) passed around her waist. The automatic raising of the warp threads (kauni) is done, as usual, with the help of small loops of thread placed between two wooden sticks (il'ava). Their crossing is maintained thanks to a stick (tokxura) placed behind this network. The motions of the Indian during the weaving operation can be broken down as follows: with the thumb of the right hand she presses on the warp threads behind the network of small loops to make the upper threads pass under. This motion ended she slides a wooden knife (skuas-para) pointed at both ends behind the network, between the warp threads. She puts it edgewise and with a bone dagger (Fig. 6, F) she packs and presses together the threads which have just crossed. She then darts through her shuttle (kˣos), which is nothing but a cleft stick around which she has rolled the weft thread (kuˣ). To cross the warp threads again, with the bone dagger (wiña, wikuña) she lifts the lower threads over the network, passes her wooden knife through again, and makes /178/ her shuttle again pass through the half-opening between the warp threads and begins again the operation described. The material is begun at the two ends of the loom and ends in the middle of the piece.

Carangas—
Chipaya

/178 cont./

386 To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes, of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick process. They put each of the differently colored balls /of thread/ into a bowl and pull successively on each of them.

386 394 Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the strip, as shown in Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 4, G /see p. 187/) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes, for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

[191] The Čiriguano /Chiriguano/ women use the same process to weave their belts. This system is certainly older than the one-man apparatus consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Cerem wood locally made (Pl. V, D /see p. 214/).

[191] This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the puna of Jujuy (1).

/178 cont./

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904. Pl. III. Fig. 1.

[199] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of [197] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, [204] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

/202 cont./

and Doering (Heinrich).
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/.
Berlin. 1924. Pls. 99-101.

perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Cipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

Weaving. The Cipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Maccamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and so indicates on what the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

#171 286

2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

#171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

#171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[173]

3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

2:Métraux--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SP94 Uru SP94

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seeds to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 118, *bot*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, soaked, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (*pato-colorado*) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skilled with slings, which are woven and braided of variolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden fences for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of *Inguinus* has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite [291]
incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The
essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a
sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed part-
way up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the
top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a [286] [199]
simple loar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males
have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the
level, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The
slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes
from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are some-
times worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit [77]
wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a
crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn,
and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers [237]
were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear bleach llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and
untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-
headed copper pin (*tupu*). When traveling in cold weather, the
women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied [302]
behind the back with vicuña-wool flats; only a few still wear the
ancient style "Tiahuca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the
head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* [237]
men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around
tropical bang.

HOUSES

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 118, *bottom*). Their craft, [296]
though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats [301]
and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swamp-ways. The [304]
reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are
stacked in shocks like corn. *Nearly every able-bodied Uru* male has
quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas.
During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding
into green twigs into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is
formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed
to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of
these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in
the middle of the boat and to have upcurved points at each end. An
acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to
tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting
of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishgear, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

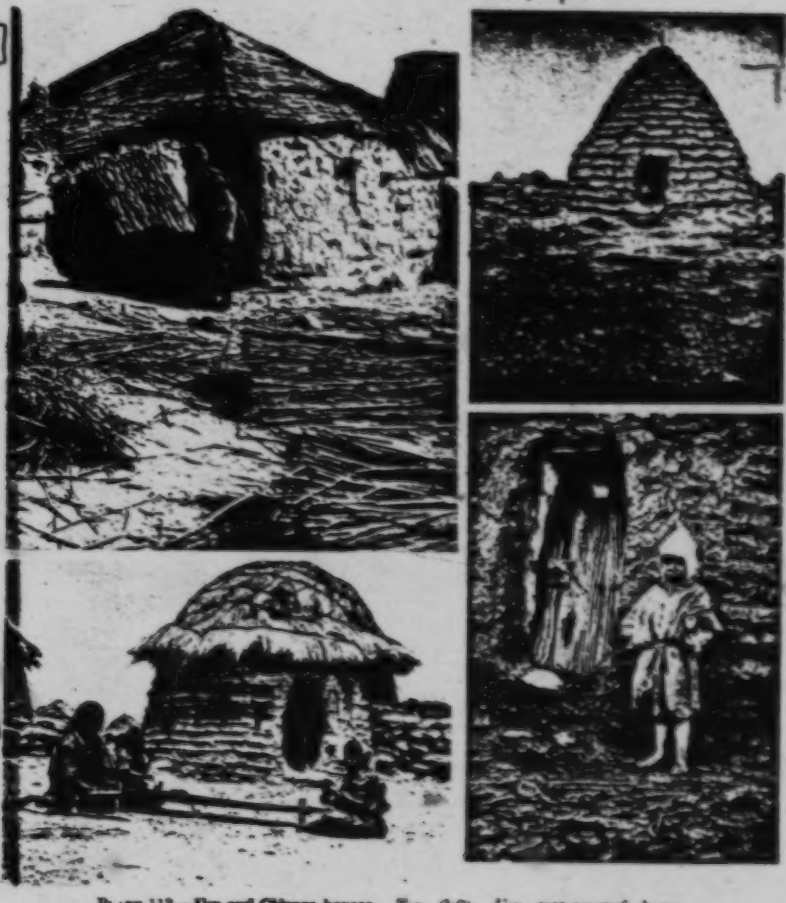
Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Santa de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

[285]



[286]

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left): Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right):* Chipaya sod house. *Bottom (left):* Uru house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right):* Door of a Chipaya sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-A]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
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PLATE 116.—Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning. *Top:* Uru woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left):* Chipaya man at upright loom. *Bottom (right):* Chipaya woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

Titicaca Ceramics I-3 (no date) 1360 EP34 Tit EP34

to individual families by the head of each society. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost exactly as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular skirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are sewn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (aruku) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under ecclesiastical influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an unkuña, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Titicaca coiffure" still worn by many of the

[P21-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iva* (Aymará *awila*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*suklí*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *alwiña*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanaco Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulli*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *likara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *ckiawa*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lani* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *wika*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *lolo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *'ulpas* of Incaica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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sijkwa) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *halsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *lawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*pawaw*) llama-wool (*pawâ*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wal'ja*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the headrod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymara. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gowns* of the Aymara type (Uru *lkawa*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymara at Guaqui, Tiahuanaco and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sugas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *halsa* (Aymará *lasu*, Uru *K'oki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the altiplano whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacaxaxata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *waira* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *luto* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[50]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Sulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opdyke, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaxla* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[50] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 362, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

I /163 cont./
*651 hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is
*648 taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribu-
433 tion according to what each one in that subdivision /parçialidad/
I has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will
*651 not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood,
*648 the system which they have among them has an accounting and a
657 reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one
433 chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Pava /pava/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were
I [162] taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, assayed and marked, without count-
U ing the other matters of food and cartage and sown land con-
[162] tained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count
280 of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there
964 is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call huros, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the huro Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this
I repartimiento /164/ because there are three subdivisions
[631] /parçialidades/, one of these huro fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are
U called casayas, and the other subdivision /parçialidad/ is cura
[651] Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipocamayos, who are their accountants, or marcamayos, and, when they start off, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,